

# The Church, The Pietist Mission and the Sámi

## An Account of a Northern Norwegian Mission District in the Early Eighteenth Century<sup>1</sup>

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### Abstract

The indigenous religion of the Sámi population came under strong pressure through the Pietist mission effort, which occurred during the first decades of the 18th century in Denmark-Norway. This study focuses on the complex religious situation in the areas of the Northern Norwegian counties of Nordland and Troms.

The study uses a spatial approach to map the positions of the different institutions and participants: The Church, the missionary efforts, and perceptions of indigenous spirituality. I am investigating this complex religious situation by reconstructing the social network that formed its backbone, using a biographical perspective and life stories to reveal the actors' careers and interests, and by focusing on local knowledge.

Religious objects such as the drum, hammers, and sculptures of Sami 'deities' made of tree or stone, traces as stones, mountains were seen as 'tools' to conduct religious practice at many sites in the far North. This is still visible in local place-names. In the sources, these place names were seen as obstructions to the new Christian [MGI] perspective. The hammer, drum, and the symbols or religious iconography painted on the drum leather offer a good overview over Sámi society and the world of their deities. While there are few extant Sámi religious objects from which we can draw information about Sámi indigenous spirituality, we can analyze the missionary and church-related documents that discuss them. Through the process of reconstructing those social networks and tracing the communication between institutions and the positions and interests of the missionaries, the sources give indirect information about a complex situation.

**Search terms:** Coastal Sámi settlement – land use – demographic sources and the concept of "Sámi" – Pietistic Mission – Thomas von Westen – network – missionaries – Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen.

# Norsk sammendrag

Kirken, den pietistiske misjon og den samiske befolkning i Sør-Troms Lokalkunnskap, misjon og den eldre samiske religionen i første del av 1700-tallet Noaidevuohhta – den eldre samiske religionen var fokus for den pietistiske misjonen som ble etablert og organisert i de første tiårene av 1700-tallet i Danmark-Norge. Dette bidraget retter fokus på den komplekse religiøse situasjonen i områder i Sør-Troms og Nordre Nordland.

Ved en romlig tilnærming kartlegges posisjonene til ulike deltakere innen institusjoner som Den norske kirke, misjonsorganisasjonen og den eldre samiske religionen. For å undersøke denne komplekse religiøse situasjonen bruker jeg et biografisk og livshistorisk perspektiv. Den enkeltes karriere og hensikter settes inn i større sosiale nettverk, noe som bidrar til å synliggjøre lokalkunnskap og spor etter den eldre samiske religionen.

Religiøse gjenstander som tromme og hammer, skulpturer av «guder» laget i tre eller i stein, spor som steiner og fjell ble sett på som «redskaper» for å utøve religiøs praksis. Fremdeles finnes det samiske og norske stedsnavn, som forteller om dette. I kildene ble disse stedene sett på som hindringer for de nye religiøse perspektivene. Trommen og hammeren, og symbolene eller den religiøse ikonografien malt på trommeskinnet, er en introduksjon til samisk samfunn og noaidevuohhta – den eldre samiske religionen.

Ved å rekonstruere sosiale og profesjonelle nettverk, kommunikasjonen mellom de ulike deltakere og institusjoner, deres stillinger og interesser, kan kildene gi innblikk i den komplekse religiøse situasjonen i Sør-Troms ved begynnelsen av 1700-tallet.

## Introduction

By appointing the theologian Thomas von Westen (1682-1727) as the leader of the Pietist Mission, King Frederick IV's introduced the Pietistic Mission during the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the Northern areas of Denmark-Norway. This establishment of a new Pietist organization opens for studies of several processes related to the confrontation between the reformed church and the Sámi indigenous religion. By way of mapping the ecclesiastical and social networks of the Mission organization and the relations to the State Church, the local religious processes appear. The Pietism contributed to a sincere and individualization of the relations to religion.<sup>2</sup>

## An Analytical Approach to the Religious Situation and the Process of Pietist Mission

This article is part of a larger study of the coastal Sámi population of the area in the counties of Nordland and Troms in Northern Norway for a period of three centuries from 1700 and until 2000. The study of the complex religious situation within the Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century is part of mapping the implementation process of the Pietistic Mission primarily vis-à-vis the Sámi – an indigenous people within the State Church, a Lutheran Protestant Church in the realm of Denmark-Norway.<sup>3</sup> Intent to include the Sámi settlement within the State, this establishment played also a part in the political process of settling the border questions between the States of Fenno-Scandia.<sup>4</sup>

I will first briefly present these two analytical approaches, followed by a note on historical sources about Sámi culture in general and most specifically on information sources on the demography of the Sámi population of the Sixth Mission District in one chosen community. In my account, in accordance to the biographical perspective on Sámi cul-

ture of the Sámi scholar Johan Albert Kalstad (1946-2008)<sup>5</sup>, I shall analyse several individual biographies in order to tease out knowledge of Sámi religious practice. Finally, I intent to discuss local representations of indigenous Sámi religion, informed by the social geographer Doreen Massey's (1944-2016)<sup>6</sup> approach to the concept of space.

The Sámi were just one of many people as the Indians in Tranquebar and the Inuits in Greenland, to be a target for missionary activity in this period and later in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Santals of Northern India became an important missionary field of both Norwegian and Danish missionaries, supported by colleagues from Sweden and the Mid-West of the US. The Pietistic Mission which initially was a in opposition to the High Church, became during the first three decades a part of the High Church. In Northern Norway, the Pietistic mission was directed to the Sámi and started more than 150-years earlier than the Low-Church Home Mission to the Santals (which was launched in the late 1860s). One may wonder if the home mission to the indigenous Sámi in direct or indirect ways influenced the missiology of later external missions to Asia, including the Home Mission to the Santals? This is an interesting question. However, not a main question in this paper, it is of comparative interest, given this special journal issue. I shall attempt to tentatively, suggest certain historical lines of continuity in my conclusion.

What characterized the religious situation during the establishment of the mission directed at the Sámi in the three first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – in the geographical area of study in this piece defined as of the islands of Senja and Vesterålen? The Sixth Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen and neighbouring areas in northern Norway was vast and encompassed high mountains, valleys, fjords, and big islands such as Senja. In this area the ethnic composite population of Norwegian, Sámi, and Kven "Quæn" lived side by side.

## A Note on Method

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Johan Albert Kalstad,<sup>7</sup> inspired by the religious historian Håkan Rydving<sup>8</sup>, focused on Sámi cultural history and the religious traditions south of the area of study in the Lule Sámi<sup>9</sup> areas in Norway and Sweden. Rydving divided the reactions into five groups according to the attitude of how the Sámi acted in the religious encounters.<sup>10</sup> Kalstad had studied written and oral recollections and accounts from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in order to collect information about old Sámi traditions and knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Kalstad stated that most of the oral tradition of the old indigenous religion had been forgotten. He maintained that this tradition still contained valuable yet fragmentary knowledge. Kalstad's works contain valuable evidence about the *noajide*,<sup>12</sup> the Sámi shaman, his activities and *noajddevuohhta* (indigenous religious knowledge), his use of the *goabdes* (the drum), and the *siejdde's*. The latter term refers to the pantheon of different gods personified in nature by stones, parts of bigger stone formations, mountains, rivers, and sculptures made of wood, amongst other things.<sup>13</sup> By using written sources and earlier accounts from the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kalstad was able to reconstruct some of the indigenous cultural and social traditions from the Lule Sámi area along the coast in the province of Salten and the adjacent areas in Sweden. By way of reconstructing the missionary activities, he applied a biographical perspective and focused on the *noaidi's* and their different and fascinating personal stories.<sup>14</sup>

I apply Doreen Massey's spatial approach in order to map and establish an overview of the network of the persons involved in the Danish-Norwegian mission vis-à-vis the Sámi people in Norway and the indigenous Sámi religion.<sup>15</sup> My use of the theoretical notion of space here, I shall attempt to systematize and map the religious activities as trajectories. They represent an articulation of some of the local, regional, or national religious processes of changes in the attitude of the dominant group in society towards the indigenous Sámi religion and those Sámi who were converts to the Christian faith. Concretely, in applying the concept of space as a process, I have studied (in the county of Troms), travels by the missionaries, reports about their encounters with the local Sámi

population, cartographic, descriptive, and statistical mapping of the areas, and finally, reports about the population's livelihood, and specifically their religious situation.<sup>16</sup> The descriptions made by the missionaries are naturally coloured by their main task – the christening of the Sámi population, as well as their accounts give valuable information about the different religious positions of the ethnic composite population. Also, I look at the organization of the mission and the network of the participants and the trajectories they follow as an historical process. These trajectories may highlight the positions of the bishops, the clergy, and the missionary's relations with local people. Arguably, it is fruitful to focus on the ecclesiastical network, which includes the bishops, the clergy, the missionaries, and the organization of the mission. It is noteworthy that relationships between the missionaries and local priests are formed through marital relations and the resulting bonds of kinship. These networks will provide useful evidence of the religious situation in the Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen. Before I start digging further into the relationships between missionaries, clergy and bishops, and examining parts of their life stories, I shall describe and discuss the principal sources I build upon.

## The Sources

The Sámi culture is an oral culture and the Sámi languages are a cultural carrier. As well as the oral tradition, place names, cultural sites and mounds, and oral tradition, all contain local or regional knowledge of material or non-material monuments. Most of the written sources in connection to the Sámi culture was until the 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century made by the States, the Church, and by others like travellers etc. In order to reconstruct the early 18<sup>th</sup> century religious situation in the area under study, one has to rely on a plurality of these sources where it is necessary to discuss their origin and their aim. However, as already noted, to study the religious aspects a rich source is the material collected by the mission during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>17</sup> Apart from the missionaries and their biographers, the indigenous Sámi religion is documented by researchers from different disciplines, such as the linguist and cultural historian Just Qvigstad (1853-1957), ethnographer Ernst Manker (1893-1972), religious historian Hans Mebius (1931-2013), ethnographer Ørnulv Vorren (1912-2007), and religious historian Håkan Rydving.<sup>18</sup> The demographic sources provide information about individuals and help identify the Sámi population. Furthermore, correspondence and religious writings – both in connection with the Church and with the Pietistic mission and their reports about the indigenous Sámi religion – throw an interesting light on the ecclesiastical work of the bishop, the clergy, and the mission organized and implemented by the theologian Thomas von Westen (1682-1727), the missionaries, schoolteachers, and other participants. The writings reflect the situation and the relationship between the various actors affiliated with the church and the missionaries. From a biographical perspective, reports, correspondence, and diaries constitute valuable sources. With the help of their letters and reports, it is possible to reconstruct knowledge about Sámi religious beliefs and understand the importance of geographical space. The available sources present information from the perspective of the dominant group in society in relation to demography, economy, and the religious situation. Some sources were written by persons who were participating in the missionary efforts or were close to the missionaries during the period from 1710 to the 1730s. All these sources, combined with contemporary and newer oral sources about traditional life, cast new light on the encounters between the mission and the Sámi population. One such source is the well-known Danish author and painter Emilie Demant-Hatt (1873-1958),<sup>19</sup> who wrote about her observations and encounters in Karesuando, Sweden at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She reported that the days when drumming was common, were long gone, but still she observed at that time remnants of some acts with their roots in the indigenous religion or traditional beliefs.<sup>20</sup> Amongst other examples, she described a sacrificial act conducted by hostess Anni Rasti while they were travelling from the wintercamp in Karesuando to the summer grazing areas in Tromsdalen, Norway. Rasti poured the dregs of her cup of coffee into the fireplace as a tribute to the spirits of the place, since she was allowed to stay there in peace. Demant-Hatt makes a plausible connection between that sacrifice and the

ancient tradition of offerings to the goddess *Sáráhkká*. This goddess lived in the fireplace and was entitled to a share of food and drink.

Much older and important sources includes correspondence of Thomas von Westen, and vice-rector Hans Skanke (1679-1739), missionary Jens Kildal (1683-1767), and teacher and cartographer Isaac Olsen (ca. 1680-1730).<sup>21</sup> The main publications and papers from von Westen were lost, but the contemporary reports of Skanke, J. Kildal and Olsen gives important first-hand information of the mission and the indigenous religion in this first period of the Pietistic mission.<sup>22</sup> The ecclesiastical visitation reports preserved for Troms and Finnmark, mainly from the 18th century, provide information about the clergy and how they conducted their duties.<sup>23</sup> There are three main biographies of the central missionaries and the clergy, each biography representing different centuries.<sup>24</sup> In 1787, the minister and author Hans Hammond (1733-1792) focused on Thomas von Westen, his work and his colleagues. The theologian Andreas Erlandsen wrote an overview of the clergy in 1865. Finally, the missionary, author and researcher Adolf Steen wrote a thesis about von Westen and the mission in 1954. The sources in East-Finnmark and in the south Sámi area introduce the knowledge about the indigenous Sámi religion conveyed by Skanke, Kildal and others in my area of study - the Sixth Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen.<sup>25</sup>

To identify the Sámi population there are several useful sources containing information about the demography of the Sixth Mission District.<sup>26</sup> These sources lend evidence to an ethnic composite population of Norwegian, Kven, and Sámi groups. Any sound knowledge about the Sámi population in this area requires thorough study of the sources and a critical analysis of the terms "Sámi," "Finn," and "Lapp," and other terms used in the written sources, see Figure 1.<sup>27</sup> Laborious and painstaking examination and discussion of named individuals and ethnic terms are necessary.

<b>Figure 1. The Population in the Community of Kvæfjord during the Eighteenth Century</b>								
Sources	Male individuals	Families	Farms	Farmers	All individuals	Estimated population	Norwegian	Sámi
Census 1701	274			90		740		
Land register 1723			51	115				
Skanke ca. 1730*		126			600			600
Bishop Fredrik Nannestad ca. 1750		120						12 / 13**
Census in 1769/70						958	810	148
Census 1801					1197	1197	1030	164
*These numbers are recorded during the period of 1724 to 1727 and covering a wider area of the District of Mission of Senja and Vesterålen.								
** It is not mentioned whether these families were included in the total numbers.								
Sources: Census 1701, Matrikkelutkast 1723, Skanke ca. 1730, Visitas protocol 1737-1770 fol. 264, NA, Census 1769/70, Census 1801, Markussen (2001): 37, 59.								

The ethnic composition of the population in the community of Kvæfjord in the 18th century shows that the main part of the population in the first half of the century was categorised as “Norwegian”, (cf. Fig. 1). The settlement pattern indicates that the Sámi population was located – apart from some farms in the main fjord – in the side fjords to Kvæfjord.<sup>28</sup> The Sámi population in these areas was at that time mainly settled amongst the majority Norwegian population. One of the important tasks of the missionaries in the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was to chart where the Sámi people were living and draft an overview of the population and how many “souls” resided in the various hamlets and dispersed settlements.<sup>29</sup> As for example, in a report and letter dated 1722, the Mission Collegium was informed that the rural deaneries of Lofoten and Vesterålen – were being neglected mainly due to difficult accessibility.<sup>30</sup>

Von Westen put great effort to conduct the mission in Sámi language. Correspondence reveals that the Sámi population had indeed knowledge of the Norwegian language.<sup>31</sup> The task of the mission in the late 1720s was to set aside the teaching of languages – Sámi and Danish<sup>32</sup> – and concentrate on the Pietistic mission of conversion. This information also provides a glimpse of the Church’s attitude towards the ethnic Norwegian population in this area. The Pietistic message was to be conveyed to the congregations by the clergy at church.

### **Local Knowledge – From the Perspective of the “Church” and of the “Mission”**

Making use of Massey’s processual analytical notion of social and religious space, and a bibliographical approach, I shall attempt to analyse the different perspectives of the Church on the one hand, represented by the clergy and the bishop of the diocese of Nidaros, which encompassed northern Norway. Further, the mission and the appointed missionaries will be in focus, summing up all in their meeting with the Sámi population in their different situations between the indigenous Sámi religion and the protestant church.<sup>33</sup> The encounters between these main actors were at times conflict-ridden and took place different levels: in relation to ecclesiastical and economic change; and in attitudes and reactions against the mission.

#### *The Encounter Between the Pietistic Mission and the Church*

The start of the Pietistic mission in the circle of “The Seven Stars” “Syvstjernen”<sup>34</sup> originated among the clergy in the area of Møre and Romsdal, in the southwest part of the Diocese of Trondheim in Central Norway. Taking a network perspective when examining this circle indicates that, from among this group, Thomas von Westen and one other member, and individuals in these families can be seen as playing a role in the establishment and organization of the Pietistic mission in the Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen.

The members of the “The Seven Stars” served while Peder Krog was bishop in the Diocese of Nidaros. They presented themselves in a humble manner in a petition to the king in 1714: “pastor” Jens Juel (Tingvold), “pastor” Amund Barhow (Kvernes), “spiritual guide” Thomas von Westen (Veøy), “spiritual guide” Nicolaus Engelhart (Nesset), “clergyman” Mentzer Ascanius (Aure), “curate” Peder Strøm (Bod), and “curate” Eiler Hagerup (Kvernes).<sup>35</sup> These men saw their tasks as, among other things, promoting discipline and spiritual guidance among colleagues, as well as reformation of the Church. Von Westen and Hagerup, in their future positions both played important roles by carrying out the Pietistic message. Biographical sources show the close relationships between the clergy and missionaries both professionally and by privately during these processes. Forging of marriages (between ethnic Norwegian and Danish clergy) were of particular importance.

The traditional Sámi region is vast and surpasses national borders between today's Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In 17<sup>th</sup> century Sweden, strong missionary Churches were built, and religious books were published in the Sámi language, including the Lutheran catechism, the ABC book, and a bigger handbook with religious texts.<sup>36</sup> Sámi clergymen, known as "*lappprester*" were appointed in Sweden. They lived together with and worked among the Sámi population. At the same time, it was prohibited under the death penalty to practice the indigenous religion.<sup>37</sup> Through these coercive measures, the Swedish and Danish-Norwegian states strengthened their control over both permanent Sámi settlements and pastoralist realms. The roles of the bishops in the respective countries is worth studying. On the Danish-Norwegian side, I will first briefly discuss the two bishops, Peder Krog and Eiler Hagerup. Both were appointed to the Diocese of Nidaros and served during this first phase of the Pietistic mission. Each of them established their social and professional network and demonstrated in their own way different perspectives of the Church and the relation to the Mission during this period of change.

Peder Krog<sup>38</sup> (1654-1731) was born in Århus and educated in universities in Germany, the Netherlands and England. He was in other terms a learned man, and appointed to several positions in Denmark before he moved to Norway and Trondheim. In his marriage (1681) to Anna Dorothea Bremer, a daughter of the Lord Mayor of Kiel, three of their four children, survived into adult hood. Christian, the oldest son, became chief municipal executive<sup>39</sup> "*magistratspresident*" of Trondheim. Nils, the second, was appointed by his father in 1707 to the post of Rector of the Latin school in Trondheim. The youngest son, Jørgen Henrik, converted to Catholicism and became librarian at the Vatican in Rome.<sup>40</sup> In 1688, Krog was appointed bishop and he served in this position for a period of over four decades. Krog was an orthodox and conservative Lutheran Christian during this period, when Pietism was introduced to the Lutheran Church in Denmark-Norway. One of his main concerns was to improve the maintenance of the churches and the cathedral school, in addition to focusing on economic affairs. He made great efforts to improve and build new churches, establish schools, and appoint new clergymen. The issue of formal education in schools was central to the mission to the Sámi of the High-North. Krog's view about language was that the Sámi should learn Norwegian, which he claimed that they themselves were eager to learn.<sup>41</sup>

Eiler Hagerup<sup>42</sup> (1685-1743) succeeded Krog as bishop and served for the period 1731 to 1743. Hagerup was the son of a parish priest from the county of Møre and Romsdal. He graduated from the Latin school in Trondheim in 1702 and passed an exam in theology in 1704 at the University of Copenhagen. Hagerup returned to Trondheim and became chaplain in his home county, at Kvernes, Averøy, in 1709. He married Anna Catharina Barhow, daughter of a local parish priest. She died in childbirth in 1737, after having given birth to 17 children. As a parish priest at Kvernes, Hagerup joined the group of "The Seven Stars," of which his father-in-law also was a member. Before Hagerup began serving as bishop, he took in 1727 over the position of Lector and *notarius capituli* after the death of the famous von Westen.<sup>43</sup> The instructions from the Mission College in Copenhagen, responding to his inspection reports of the mission districts in 1729, were that the Sámi should learn the Danish language, and the clergymen should take over the missionaries' work among the Sámi population.<sup>44</sup> This policy by not using the Sámi language, broke with the practice conducted by pioneer von Westen, whose position was that the Pietistic religious message should be conveyed in the Sámi language, a language also used in the schools. In this stage of the process, both clergy and missionaries practised a Pietistic perspective. When the strongly pietist Hagerup succeeded Krog as bishop, one could expect a change in approach from the bishop's office, in line with the practise of von Westen. Instead, Hagerup continued Krog's policy. Because Hagerup belonged to the proponents of the Pietistic movement, the king apparently approved of his policies, even though they in some respects deviated from the official line in terms of missiology.

### *The Preparations of the Church by Regional Visitations*

From the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Church strengthened the missionary activity towards the Sámi population. To control and supervise the religious situation, the bishops of the Diocese of Nidaros travelled to the northern parts of Norway.<sup>45</sup> The visitations were not regular until after 1691, when the bishop enjoined to visit Finnmark each third year in order to comply with the instruction from 1618.<sup>46</sup> From the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the bishop Erik Bredal (1643-1672) obtained a better knowledge of the Sámi population and their way of life through several visitations. Bredal had the ambition to recruit and teach the Sámi to preach after his stay at Trondenes during the years 1658–1659. However, his initiative failed.<sup>47</sup> One of his successors, Erik Pontoppidan the elder (1673–1678) translated the catechism into South Sámi. Both Krog and Hagerup made several visitations during their time as bishop. Krog travelled in 1696, 1700 (to Kjelvik), 1705 (to northern Troms), and in 1708 (Vadsø). He became a quite influential voice, and contributed both directly and indirectly to the mission of the Sámi. Based in his visitation of 1705, he sent a report to King Frederick IV where he described and characterized the religious situation with the Sámi population as “bad”. His advice was that teachers was to be sent to educate them.<sup>48</sup> He expressed the fear that, if this was not done, the Sámi would otherwise choose to attend churches in the Swedish part of the area. This writing illuminates the political aspect of missionary expansion and the comprehension of the importance that the Sámi population stayed in the realm. King Frederick IV responded to Krog’s report by appointing Povel Resen to inspect these areas in 1706–1707, but notably without the bishop’s knowledge.<sup>49</sup> Resen’s task was to map out the religious situation and the Sámi’s relationship with the Church in Sweden:

...about the social and legal conditions, and the knowledge within their cause of salvation and their relations to the sacraments and the ecclesiastical work.

A statement was also wanted and a proposal about how the ecclesiastical work among the Sámi was to be conducted. If it was to be conducted by ordained clergymen or if it should be set up schools where this could happen.<sup>50</sup>

Krog read Resen’s report as a bypassing his responsibility as a bishop and felt neglected. This episode came to influence Krog’s relation to the mission. Krog’s successor Hagerup made fifteen visitations during his twelve years as bishop, and several times, he visited southern Troms.<sup>51</sup>

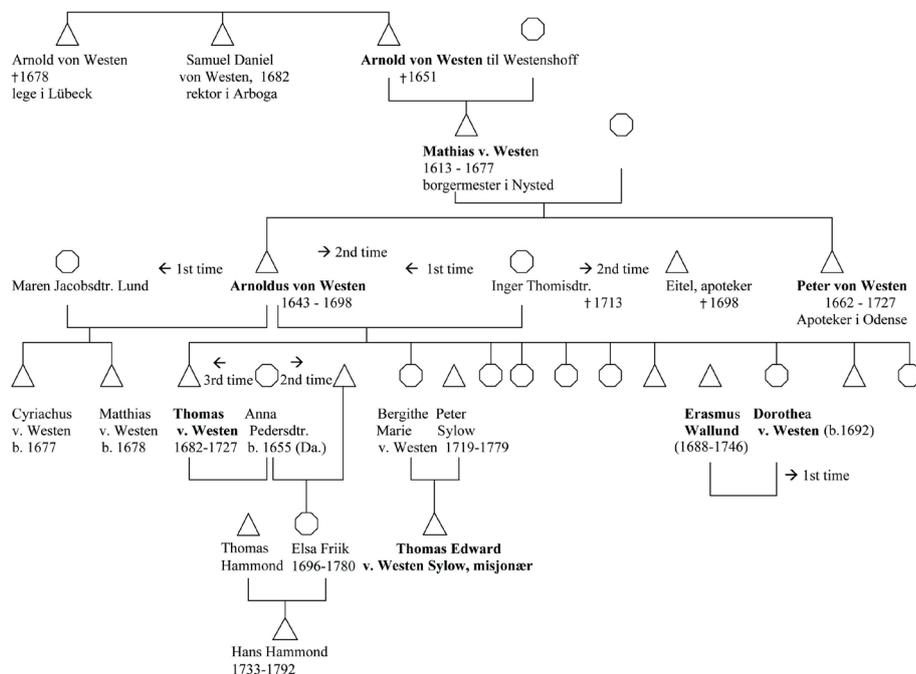
### *The Network of the Mission Organization*

One of the main tasks of the mission organization was to preach the Pietistic doctrine of sincerity of the individual of the Protestant Church to the Sámi population, who resided from the Sámi areas in Finnmark, and the rest of Northern Norway down to Trøndelag, located in middle of Norway. From their various duty stations, the missionaries reported regularly to Thomas von Westen in Trondheim, who forwarded them to the Mission Collegium in Copenhagen. The learned and energetic Krog, in his long period in office, revitalized the Church. He recruited and ordained about 249 clergymen and 32 deans. During this period, 48 new churches were built and consecrated. The King instructed Krog to turn over churches in the north to strengthen the mission project.<sup>52</sup> In this process of the mission, the different attitudes of the participants were rooted in questions of economy and the interest that the king showed in the Pietistic mission and the policy towards the Sámi population. The maintenance of the churches and the use of the Sámi language was instances where the differences became very apparent.<sup>53</sup>

When studying the Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen during the first stage of the mission, the role of Thomas von Westen loom large. Von Westen, appointed leader and lector at the new established school “Seminarium Scholasticum”, in order to

organize the mission, undertook three journeys to northern Norway. This vast area, divided into thirteen mission districts, each district had a missionary, a schoolmaster, and sometimes one or two adjuncts to help with the teaching. The teachers recruited either locally or from the school in Trondheim.<sup>54</sup> Following the kindred and careers of the missionaries as trajectories or parts of them, they constitute a network in social space. Each of the missionaries also demonstrate different perspectives on the local and regional knowledge. In this initial period, they were recruited both from several places in southern Norway,<sup>55</sup> but also from Sweden and Denmark. Quite some, including von Westen himself, were from Trondheim. They were theologians of considerable intellectual capacity who knew languages like Latin and Hebrew, and they prioritized to learn the Sámi language. When starting up and establishing the mission in southern Troms, including the Sixth Mission District, the missionaries stayed on the island of Rolla east of Trondenes and not far from the famous medieval church of Ibestad. On Rolla, the *thing* or the local judicial assembly took place and the district sheriff had his farm there (from 1717 to 1753).<sup>56</sup> The missionaries had to travel both inland and further north and west to the big islands of Senja and Vesterålen by boat and on foot to meet the thinly spread Sámi population.

#### The kindred of von Westen



In the Senja and Vesterålen district, Kield Stub (*ca.* 1680-1724) was the first missionary. He began his work during the years 1718–1720 stationed near Ibestad. Stub had previous experience as missionary in Varanger, Tana, and Porsanger in East-Finnmark (1716–1718), Denmark-Norway’s most northern and eastern district in the border areas to Russia. When Stub got transferred from Finnmark to southern Troms, he worked closely with the schoolmaster who also worked as an interpreter.<sup>57</sup> Stub was one of the two first missionaries who accompanied von Westen on his first and second journeys to Finnmark in 1716 and 1718.<sup>58</sup> Von Westen characterized the missionary Stub as an emphatic preacher who emphasised the Gospels’ message of love towards heathens and converts. While Kield Stub was resident chaplain “*vice-pastor*”, to teach the Sámi, he engaged a schoolmaster who he paid from his own salary.<sup>59</sup> He married Ingebjørg Leem, daughter of the local parish priest. She died after two years of marriage, having given birth to two children who both died young.<sup>60</sup>

Stub was succeeded by the theologian Erasmus Wallund (1684-1746).<sup>61</sup> Due to severe illness and Bishop Krog's obstruction of the mission, Wallund first began as missionary in the spring of 1721.<sup>62</sup> Wallund's work was described and characterized by von Westen thus, "...that he had cut a hole on the walls of idolatry, and found everything full of false gods, the hammer of Thor, altars, and sacrifices."<sup>63</sup> When Wallund started his missionary work, more than fifty of the Sámi in the locality could read, and some had bought books to read. He faced greater problems within sustained "religious idolatry" in the more distant Sámi communities such as Lødingen and Trondenes. Wallund also had difficulties with the bishop's interference with the mission.<sup>64</sup> Wallund was first married to a younger sister of Thomas von Westen – and remarried in 1729 a woman who was the daughter of the circuit judge in Salten, in the county of Nordland.<sup>65</sup> The language of Wallund's reports employs metaphors providing information about many material and non-material traces of the indigenous Sámi religion still in use in this area. Wallund experienced repeatedly the bishop's continued obstruction of the mission, which shows that the conflict between the bishop and the mission is obvious.

The Swede Lennart Sidenius (1702-1763) succeeded Wallund as missionary at Ibestad. Sidenius had studied languages and the sacred scripture at the University of Copenhagen, where he became a member of the "Collegio Eilersiano" at the Mission Collegium.<sup>66</sup> In 1726, at twenty-four years of age, Sidenius launched his mission work in the Mission District of Senja and Vesterålen, stationed at the same farm as his predecessors. He maintained a large correspondence both with other missionaries and with Thomas von Westen.<sup>67</sup> In a letter to the rural dean Johan Tornberg in Jukkasjärvi, in the neighbouring district on the Swedish side of the mountain range, dated 1724, Sidenius sent documentation about Sámi idols.<sup>68</sup> The list provides us with valuable information about the Sámi cosmology. The gods are located in different realms: the highest up in the starry sky. A bit further down are deities of in the air. Then there are deities who reside on earth or in the underworld quite deep into the earth.<sup>69</sup> We cannot say for sure if this information also describes some of the religious practises among the Sámi population at Ibestad and the surrounding areas, but after he had moved to a neighbouring parish in 1728, Sidenius made another detailed record of the idols of the indigenous Sámi religion still in use at that time within the Mission District. This he sent to Dean Henric Forbus, Torneå in Sweden.<sup>70</sup> In Vesterålen, west of the island of Hinnøya, the mission was organized by the already mentioned Jens Kildal, appointed by von Westen. He was serving as a missionary in a period nearly four decades, at first in Ofoten and then after a few years, in Tysfjord. The long distances in the western region of Ofoten the missionary needed to travel and the low income received by the mission, it was decided that the work of missionary was combined with the work of a pastor. This led to the amalgamation of the work of education and the keeping of the schools in the entire Lofoten and Vesterålen deanery, carried out by Willats Bing (1668-1739) who was first appointed as missionary, and subsequently was named parish priest in the neighbouring Hadsel parish.<sup>71</sup> In a letter from von Westen to the Mission Collegium dated 11 August 1725, based on a letter from Kildal to von Westen dated 14 July 1725, von Westen recounted Kildal's missionary efforts in Vesterålen. Accompanied by two schoolmasters, Kildal arranged three meetings with the Sámi population in Vesterålen.<sup>72</sup> Afterwards, the schoolmasters were encouraged by the attending Sámi to stay and continue their educational work. The community themselves took responsibility for building the assembly houses without any cost to the mission.<sup>73</sup>

### The State of the Indigenous Sámi Religion in Southern Troms

Based on the analysis by Rydving of this complex religious encounter between the Church, the Mission and the Sámi population's approach to the different meeting between the indigenous religion and the protestant church in the Lule Sámi area and Massey's approach to the process of space, I will focus on how these representations can provide us with new local and regional information for this period.<sup>74</sup> The traces – material and non-material – of the indigenous Sámi religion are objects, places,

and oral tradition, reflect different sources to a knowledge of the religious activities in the area of study. The objects were described by the missionaries as “tools” [“redskaber”]. The sacred places where various rituals were practised, represented spatial areas within and outside the Sámi traditional dwelling, the *goahetti* (turf hut), or special places nearby or far away from campsites or permanent dwellings, located within the areas of herding, gathering, fishing, or hunting. Holy places can currently be identified by characteristic Sámi or Norwegian place names and oral tradition.

The hammer and drum, and not the least the symbols or religious iconography painted on the skin of the drum, provide an important entry to Sámi society, their cosmology and pantheon. The iconography on the drums represents religious practices and the symbols of both a material and a non-material religious universe that to some degree varies in each region.<sup>75</sup> The drum, well known from written sources from about 1150 A.D, is in a description in the medieval manuscript *Historia Norvegiæ*.<sup>76</sup> Different types of drums existed and their shapes varied between regions, not only age matters, but mode of construction and the visual art on the skin. *Gievrie*, a drum made as a frame [“rammetromme”], is more typical of the south Sámi. The *goavddis* [“skåltromme”] was the principal type among the central and northern Sámi.<sup>77</sup> The mission activities one can reconstruct by the writings of Jens Kildal.<sup>78</sup> Within the work of the mission, the Sámi population was forced to give away their drums, other religious tools, objects, and information about their sacred places. The reports of for example, J. Kildal and L. Sidenius documents the mix of coercive and not-coercive measures they applied in the Sixth Mission District.<sup>79</sup> The objects were either somewhat reluctantly handed over or confiscated by the eager missionaries and clergy. They would either destroy the “tools” or send the instruments to the Missionary Collegium in Copenhagen, the capital city.<sup>80</sup> A collection of around 70 drums at the Collegium were lost in a fire in 1728.<sup>81</sup> Much can be said about the mix of coercive and less



«Bealjehis Jovdna with his drum» Illustration of Alvin Jensvold, GulodesignAJ

coercive measures of the mission. The correspondence also shows that the missionaries were tactical and often initially showed interest in the symbolism of sacred drums as a way to get into a dialogue with the “pagan” Sámi. Thereby the missionaries gained a degree of the acceptance from the Sámi themselves, which was conducive to later evangelization efforts to christen them.<sup>82</sup>

The lack of authentic sources make the drum undoubtedly the central object through which missionaries and current scholars aim to understand Sámi religious tradition and knowledge. Sacred drums were in use all over Sápmi.<sup>83</sup> The symbols painted on the skin of the drum provide vital information about Sámi societies from 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century through to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a medium for spiritual contact between the *noaidi*,<sup>84</sup> the Sámi shaman, and the gods, in order to obtain advice on all issues and about the spiritual *travels*, and movements between the spheres. As late as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, every family had a drum available to for conducting their religious affairs. The drum mediated between everyday life and the religious sphere and between the non-material and the material world.<sup>85</sup> It was also an object of communication, an instrument for making rhythms and foreseeing individuals' health, and future good luck as hunters or fishermen. Kildal's report provides us with an insight into how the view of the power, which the drum held even over the recently converted:

...Although they were baptized, they were still heathen, which could be observed in that they ordered their children and servants not to follow what they were told by the priests, but instead to stand by their knowledge which they had learnt from the *noaidis* about sacrifices to the gods, about the symbols of the drum and the practice of religious rituals, about journeys to the *Jabme-ajmo* (the realm of the dead), and about the *joik* (“joik”) on the *Passe-vare* (the Holy Mountain).<sup>86</sup>

From the perspective of the missionaries the drum was the tool of the devil. People risked much by breaking the ban, even their life was at risk.<sup>87</sup> Von Westen managed to convince the king to abolish the death penalty because of the threat of execution made it difficult to get the Sámi to confess their religious practice.<sup>88</sup> Until recently, not a single drum from the Sixth Mission District is still intact, but there is now information from this area about a unique find of one frame of a “*goavvdís*” [skåltromme] made of pine without the skin, dated to the first part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>89</sup> This find will be presented in detail in later publications, but it gives weight to the description of a complex religious situation. We know the drums' secret symbolism through the above-mentioned descriptions also from this region of J. Kildal and Sidenius and through surviving oral tradition. From the sources, we know of two events, which took place in Skånland, a border area between Troms and Nordland in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. It tells of *Bealjehis Jovdna*, the *noaidi* or shaman who lived near Renså.<sup>90</sup> The farmers settled along the coast complained to the local bailiff about the sound of drumming, especially the drum of the *noaidi* *Bealjehis Jovdna*. They wanted the *noaidi* either to stop or to move somewhere else.<sup>91</sup> So the bailiff paid *Bealjehis Jovdna* a visit. While the bailiff was visiting, he got hold of the drum and hit it. He then felt refreshed or enlivened and asked *Bealjehis Jovdna*, how could that be? *Bealjehis Jovdna* told him that it was his private drum and no one needed to learn how it functioned. He told the bailiff to go home, and warned him that a whale would swim ashore and die at the beach. A whale stranded on the beach was a highly appreciated resource known of the people along the coast of northern Norway since early mediaeval period.<sup>92</sup> This indeed happened. The whalebones are still to be found near the shore. The description of the renowned drum of *Bealjehis Jovdna* is known through the oral tradition:

...The drum was made of brass and moulded in the shape of a bird with a brass plate on which the bird was standing. From the bird's right wing, seven pairs of rings were hanging: one pair of brass; one pair of copper; one pair of pewter; one pair of silver; one pair of zinc; one pair of gold; and one pair of steel. In this way, there were seven colours on the right wing of the bird, and on the left wing all kinds of coloured threads hung, red, green, black, blue, yellow, white, and grey. These

threads formed many tassels on the left wing. He [*Bealjehis Jovdna*] also had a horn which was curved both against and from the sun and, and with that he hit on the wings (left and right) of the bird a sound of several tones arose. This was one of the reasons why some of the persons who lived at the farms along the coast were angry with the deaf man, because he was so powerful.<sup>93</sup>

The story about the presence of *Bealjehis Jovdna* and his drum originates and is an example of this historical period of a conflict-ridden, complex situation between the Mission and the Sámi. Sources provide information about material and non-material religious objects and sacred locations within the Mission District of Vesterålen and Senja, such as *sieidis* – sticks of wood or stone, either natural or human made sculptures or monuments to sacrifice. One example is the three *sieidis* found in the 1930s and donated Troms University Museum.<sup>94</sup> They date back to the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, and provide some evidence of the practise of ritual objects under the Sámi custodianship well into the last century.<sup>95</sup> The archaeologist and social anthropologist Gu-torm Gjessing (1906-1979) wrote: "...In a cave two to three [Norwegian] miles from the sea in the valley of Trampdal in Astafjord, Ibestad, Troms, two were found, as well as parts of a third sculpted image of a wooden god, obviously of Sámi origin."<sup>96</sup> Quoting the language historian Jens Andreas Friis (1821-1896), Gjessing says:

...the two most complete have caps of different size and shape, and they must surely represent persons of different gender, while the third, where only the head is extant, was of a lesser size. Jens Andreas Friis<sup>97</sup> gives information about the images of gods at the Sámi sacrificial sites: As a rule several images were erected at the same place. The biggest was the image of the head of the family. Another, slightly smaller one was the image of his wife, and one or several even smaller were the images of the children of the husband and wife.<sup>98</sup>

The images relate to the pair of gods *Radien ačče* and *Radien akka*, with their son *Radien kiedde* (*Radien bardne*), and Gjessing referred to Friis, who saw this collection of sculptures as a sacred family – a family of gods – mother, father, and son.<sup>99</sup> By way of identifying the physical and immaterial traces of the religious activities as sacrificial sites, and other examples of sites, a religious space can be reconstructed. This can encompass sacred places such as "*basse*,"<sup>100</sup> and to be identified by way of oral tradition indicated by way of non-material place names including a range of physical traces or structures in the landscape.<sup>101</sup>

## Conclusion: The Pietist Mission and the Process of a Complex Religious Situation

In this article, I have applied a spatial approach inspired by the geographer Doreen Massey's concept of place as an historical process, and Johan Albert Kalstad's biographical approach in order to mainly study the religious situation of the Sixth District of Mission in Senja and Vesterålen in the northern parts of Norway, as well as Håkan Rydving's dividing into different groups of religious encounters. I have also sought to contextualise the situation in this mission district and the biographies of a select number of missionaries by outlining salient features of Church organization, theological and other religious education and lines of communication between the monarchs in Copenhagen and the bishops in the diocese of Nidaros. The manifold and complex religious situation in this mission district is analysed from a biographical perspective, applied to unravel the intricate professional and family networks entangled church authorities, missionaries, and local clergy. It shows the close connections between the positions, local knowledge, and the competence of the recruited missionaries. The social position of the missionaries in the first stage of the mission was manifold, but they were dedicated to their task. The professional positions of the missionaries melt into the positions of the clergy during these first decades, and the Pietist message is conveyed by the State Church. Besides the presence of the Sámi and their attitude which needs primarily a critical discussion of

the demographic sources, correspondence, letters, and reports, a broader picture and a few examples of the religious situation, including representations of the indigenous Sámi religion, emerge. The analysis of the religious situation also poses questions about the relationship between the Church and the monarchy, in a political process where the mission and Thomas von Westen played a role, and the mission's searching for Sámi local knowledge contributed as a method to map the areas in focus resolving the issue of the border between Denmark-Norway and Sweden. This study focus on the complex religious situation in the areas of the counties of Nordland and Troms and the representations of the Sámi indigenous religion. In spite of a strong Pietistic Mission, established during the first decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is possible to reconstruct some cultural and religious heritage

The historical period I have mainly addressed highlight a High-Church mission that thrived a number of generations prior to the establishment of the Home Mission to the Samtals. The decision of the King Frederick the 4<sup>th</sup> in 1714 to have a missionary church, led to a process where the missionaries were travelling to the colonies and the so-called "pagan" people in the Danish realm to meet and engage them in their Pietistic mission. That led to a continuous process of building networks and knowledge production through establishing a church infrastructure such as meeting places, chapels, schools, and including topographic information, translations of the bible and religious books, dictionaries, etc.

## Noter

- 1 Acknowledgements. The study "State, mission, and local knowledge during the 18th century" is part of the project *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway* (Norwegian Research Council, NFR), in the research group "Creating the New North - CNN", UiT. I will express my thanks to professor Tone Bleie, an anonymous referee and the editor Marion Grau, for their comments and recommendations to the manuscript.
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- 3 Dikka Storm, "The Mission Networks and the Religious Situation." *The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway. Introductory Studies*, Lars-Ivar Hansen, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen and Ingebjørg Hage (Eds.), (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2014): 185-210.
- 4 *Fenno-Scandia include the Nordic countries Denmark, Norway and Sweden with Finland and Russia. The borders between Denmark-Norway and Sweden-Finland agreed in 1751 and to Russia in 1826*, see Lars-Ivar, Hansen and Bjørnar Olsen. "Hunters in transition. An outline of Early Sámi History". *The Northern World* 63, (2014): 276-279.
- 5 Obituary Johan Albert Kalstad 1946-2008. Ivar Bjørklund, Terje Brantenberg and Dikka Storm. *Ságát* 26.9.2008.
- 6 Noel Castree, "A tribute to Doreen Massey (3 January 1944-11 March 2016)," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 40 (5) (2016): 585-592. <http://phg.sagepub.com/content/40/5/585.full.pdf+html>
- 7 Johan Albert Kalstad, «Litt samisk kulturhistorie rundt to gamle fotografi.» Dikka Storm, Nils Jernsletten, Bjørn Aarseth and Per Kyrre Reymert (Eds.), «Festskrift til Ørnulv Vorren.» *Tromsø Museums Skrifter* 25 (1994): 168-177; Johan Albert Kalstad, «Slutten på trommetida - og tida etter.» *Ottar - Populærvitenskapelig tidsskrift*, Tromsø Museum, Vol. 217 (4) (1997): 16-27.
- 8 Håkan Rydving, «The End of Drum-Time. Religious Change among the Lule Saami, 1670s-1740s.» *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia religionum* 12, (1993a); Håkan Rydving, «Samisk religionshistorisk bibliografi.» *Uppsala Research Reports in the History of Religions* 2(1993b); Håkan Rydving, «Samisk religionshistoria: några källkritiska problem.» *Uppsala Research Reports in the History of Religions* 4 (1995).
- 9 *The Lule Sámi area stretches from the Bothnian Sea on the Swedish east coast to the north-western part of the Salten district in the county of Nordland in Norway.*
- 10 Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*, 70.
- 11 Kalstad, *Litt samisk kulturhistorie*, 168-185, *Slutten på trommetida*, 16-27.
- 12 The terms "noajide," "noajddevuohhta," "goabdes," in the Lule Sámi language and "gievrie," "siejdde," in South Sámi language are in North Sámi language "noaidi," "noaidivuohhta," "goavvdis," "sieidi".
- 13 Kalstad, *Slutten på trommetida*, 16.

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14 Kalstad, *Slutten på trommetida*, 16-27.

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15 Doreen Massey, *for space*. (London/Thousand Oaks/New Dehli: Sage Publications, 2005), 9.

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16 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 155-156.

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17 See Kalstad *Litt samisk kulturhistorie, Slutten på trommetida*.

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18 Just Qvigstad, «Lappische offersteine und heilige Berge in Norwegen.» *Kristiania Etnografisk Museum Skrifter I, 1920-1934 (1924/1926)*, 317-356; Ernst Manker, «Die Lappische Zaubertromme. Ein Ethnologische Monographie.» *Acta Lapponica Vol. I (1938)*; Ernst Manker, «Die Lappische Zaubertromme II. Ein Ethnologische Monographie. Die Trommel als Urkunde Geistlichen Lebens.» *Acta Lapponica Vol. VI (1950)*; Hans Mebius, «Värrö. Studier i samernas förkristna offerriter.» *Skrifter utgivna av Religionshistoriska institutionen i Uppsala (HUM. FAK) 5 (1968)*; Hans Mebius, «Historien om den samiske nåjden.» Larsson, Thomas P. (Ed.), *Schamaner. Essäer om religiösa mästartare*. (Falun: Bokförlaget Nya Doxa, 2000), 41-75; Hans Mebius, Bissie. *Studier i samisk religionshistoria*. (Østersund: Jengel, 2003); Ørnulv Vorren and Hans Kr. Eriksen, «Samiske offerplasser i Varanger.» *Tromsø Museums skrifter XXXIII, (1993)*; Rydving *The End of Drum-Time, Samisk religionshistorisk bibliografi, några källkritiska problem*.

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19 Emilie Demant-Hatt, «Offerforestillinger og erindringer om trolldrommen hos nulevende lapper.» *Tromsø Museums Skrifter Vol. II, (1928)*: 47-58; Helle Askgaard and Dorte Smedegaard, *Vildfuglene. En biografi om Emilie Demant og Gudmund Hatt* (Danmark: Multivers, 2016).

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20 Emilie Demant-Hatt, *Offerforestillinger*, 47-48, 56-57.

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21 Hans Skanke (1730) in Johannes Falkenberg, Ed. «*Epitomes historiae missionis lapponicae, pars quarta*» *Nordnorske samlinger: Nordlands og Troms finner i eldre håndskrifter, Vol. 5, I: (1943)*. Marie Krekling, «Jens Kildals Afguderiets dempelse, og den sande lærdoms fremgang, ved. Hans Skankes *Epitomes Historiae Missionis Lapponicae: Pars Prima* og i de avsnitt av *pars tertia*, med anhang 3 og 4 [1740-1750]» Ole Solberg (Ed.), *Nordnorske samlinger: Nordlands og Troms finner i eldre håndskrifter, Vol. 5, 2 (1945)*: 97-174; Just Qvigstad, «Kildeskrifter til den Lappiske Mythologi II. Om Lapperne Vildfarelser og overtro af Isaac Olsen [1715]» *Det Kgl. Norske videnskabselskabers selskabs skrifter 1910, 4 (1910)*; Mebius, Värrö, Hans Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie i Nordlandene, Finmarken og Trundhiems Amt til Lappers og Finners Omvendelse, fra første Begyndelse indtil hen udi Aaret 1727, ...* (København: Gyldendal, 1787): 836-846; Kristian Nissen, «Isak Olsen.» *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon. Bind X, (1949)*: 447-455; Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in transition*, 329.

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22 Hansen and Olsen. *Hunters in transition*, 329.

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23 Oluf Kolsrud, «Finnemisjonen fyre Thomas von Westen».

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*Studia Septentrionalia III, (1947)*: 12-13.

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24 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, Andreas Erlandsen, *Biographiske Efterretninger om Geistligheden i Thronhjems Stift*. (Christiania: Guldberg & Dzwonkowski, 1855); Andreas Erlandsen, *Biographiske Efterretninger om Geistligheden i Tromsø Stift*. (Christiania: Chr. Tønsberg, 1857); Andreas Erlandsen, «Efterretninger om Lectores theologiae, Rektorer og Conrektorer ved Thronhjems lærde Skole og Seminarium lapponicum. Del VI.» *Det kgl. N. Videnskabsk. Skr. I det 19de Aarh. 4de B. 2det H, (1859)*; Adolf Steen, *Samenes kristning og Finnemisjonen til 1888*. (Oslo: Forlaget Land og folk, 1954).

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25 Isaac Olsens's contemporary report "Om lapperne vildfarelser og overtro" [On the delusions and superstitions among the Sámi], written ca.1715, in Qvigstad, *Kildeskrifter*; Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta*; Krekling, Jens Kildals *Afguderiets dempelse*, Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, 836-846.

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26 Johan Borgos, «Jordens ufructbarhed og Hafsens Fischeie. Befolkning, bosetning og økonomi i Barkestad og Langenes fjerdinge 1700-1820.» *Diedut no. 31, (1988)*; Johan I. Borgos and Dagfinn Dybwik. *Gård og slekt. Del I. and 2. Andøy bygdebok bind 2 and 3*. (Andenes: Andøy Kommune, 2003-2004); Helge Guttormsen, *Andøy bygdebok Volume I, (Bodø: Andøy kommune, 1994)*; Alf Ragnar Nielssen, (Ed.) *Fra vidstrakt prestegjeld til storkommune. Lødingen, Tjeldsund og Tysfjord historie 1700-1870, Bind V. (Bodø: Lødingen, Tjeldsund og Tysfjord kommuner, 1994)*; Knut Kolsrud, «Finnefolket i Ofoten» «*Bidrag til finnenes bygdehistorie og etnografi. Vol. 3, (1947)*. Bjørge Evjen and Lars Ivar Hansen (Eds.) *Nordlands kulturelle mangfold. Etniske relasjoner i historisk perspektiv*. (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2008).

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27 Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta*, 14. *The Sámi population was described and categorized as "Finner" and "Lapper;"* Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, 841.

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28 Storm, *The Mission Networks, 189-192*.

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29 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, 830.

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30 Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta*, 13.

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31 Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta*, 13-14 (author's translation).

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32 Danish was used by the officials of the state of Denmark-Norway in spite of the Norwegian language used by the population.

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33 Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*,

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34 "Syvstjernen" [The Seven Stars] is the Norwegian term for the Pleiades star constellation, and in this context, it referred to the composition of the group having seven members.

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35 Steen, *Samenes kristning*, 160-161.

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- 36 Kolsrud, O. *Finnemisjonen fyre Thomas von Westen, 9-10.*
- 37 Rolf Christoffersson, "Med tre röster och tusende bilder. Om den samiska trommen.» *Religionshistoriska forskningsrapporter från Uppsala 20: 2-5, (2010).*
- 38 Kolsrud, O.; Trygve Lysaker, «Reformasjon og enevelde 1537-1804.» *Trondhjems stift og Nidaros bispedømme 1537-1953, Vol. 2, (1987): 217-258.*
- 39 *The chief municipal executive was the authority of the city (in Norway until 1922) where business in general was assigned to the stipendiary magistrate / public registrar or the office of the chief constable. It functioned as the local representative for the government, while at the same time ran the administration of the authorities of the city, i.e., executive committee of local council, mayor, chief officer. Sources: Ordnett available at <http://www.ordnett.no/search?search=magistrat&lang=no> (accessed 2 February 2015) and Store norske leksikon available at [https://snl.no/Krog%2Fslekt\\_etter\\_Christen\\_Krog](https://snl.no/Krog%2Fslekt_etter_Christen_Krog) (accessed 2 March 2105).*
- 40 Lysaker, *Reformasjon og enevelde, 256.*
- 41 Lysaker, *Reformasjon og enevelde, 238.* Norwegian, i.e., "det norske Sprog," at this time means Danish rather than Norwegian.
- 42 Lysaker *Reformasjon og enevelde, 259-292.*
- 43 *Appointed 19.12.1727 and began 5.6.1728, Lysaker, Reformasjon og enevelde, 263, 267.*
- 44 Lysaker, *Reformasjon og enevelde, 263-264.*
- 45 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg, Dikka Storm, and Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen «Kva slags reformasjon? Om religionsskifte i eit fleireligiøst landskap.» *Nordens plass i middelalderens nye Europa. Samfunnsomdanning, sentralmakt og periferier, Lars Ivar Hansen, Richard Holt and Steinar Imsen (Eds) (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2011): 152-168.*
- 46 Kolsrud, O. *Finnemisjonen fyre Thomas von Westen, 7; Norske Rigs-Registranter IV. (1870): 686-687.*
- 47 Berg, Storm, and Bergesen, *Kva slags reformasjon? 157.*
- 48 Lysaker, *Reformasjon og enevelde, 234.*
- 49 Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in transition, 332.*
- 50 Kristian Nissen, «Povel Resen Hanssøn.» *Norsk Biografisk leksikon. Bind XI, (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1952): 395* [Author's translation].
- 51 Berg, Storm and Bergesen, *Kva slags reformasjon? 157.*
- 52 Steen, *Samenes kristning, 137.*
- 53 Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta, 14; Steen, Samenes kristning, 137.*
- 54 Falkenberg, *Epitomes pars quarta, 14.*
- 55 *In Norway they were from Hægeland, Sørlandet, Møre and Romsdal, Spydeberg, and Trondheim.*
- 56 Lars Ivar Hansen, *Astafjord bygdebok. Historie 2. (Bodø: Lavangen kommune, 2003): 390.*
- 57 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 336.*
- 58 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 729, 733-734.*
- 59 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 729, 734; Steen, Samenes kristning, 393.*
- 60 Steen, *Samenes kristning, 419.*
- 61 Steen, *Samenes kristning, 420.*
- 62 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 831-833.*
- 63 "... hugget Hull på Afguderiets Vægge og har han da fundet alting fuldt af Afguderie, Thors Hammer Altare, Ofring; problem med biskopens samer i Lødingen og Trondenens; og biskopen..." Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 832; Steen, Samenes kristning, 156-159* referred to some of the religious literature von Westen studied.
- 64 *Lødingen and Trondenens were canonries under the bishop's control, and Ibestad was a part of Trondenens canonry.*
- 65 Steen, *Samenes kristning, 420.*
- 66 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 851-854; Steen, Samenes kristning, 418-419.*
- 67 Edgar Reuterskiöld, «Källskrifter till Lapparnas Mytologi.» *Bidrag till vår odlings häfder (10), Nordiska Museet, (1910): 53-55, 56-60.*
- 68 Reuterskiöld, *Källskrifter, 53-55, 56-60; see also Siv Rasmussen, «Prester og prestefruer i Kautokeino pastorat.» Ottar Populærvitenskapelig tidsskrift fra Tromsø Museum, Vol. 286 No. 3, (2011): 65-67.*
- 69 "Fortegnelse på en deel oomvendte Lapp[ars Afguderij] om guder på forskjellige steder: som høyest oppe på stjernehimmelen, lengre ned i luften, nede på jorden, et stykke nede i jorden, og en del svært dypt ned i jorden." Reuterskiöld, *Källskrifter, 56-60.*
- 70 Reuterskiöld, *Källskrifter, 61-63.*
- 71 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie, 830-831.*

- 72 "Eidet, mellem Bøe og Øxnæs, Troskeland i Øxnæs Fierding," Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, 841.
- 73 Hammond, *Den Nordiske Missions-historie*, 840-42.
- 74 Rydving, *The End of Drum-Time*.
- 75 Rolf Kjellström and Håkan Rydving «Den Samiska trumman.» *Sameutställningens småskrifter 2. Nordiska Museet: 4*, (1988).
- 76 A. Salvesen, A. (transl.) *Historia Norvegiæ*. (Oslo: T. Dahls kulturbibliotek, 1969); Hansen and Olsen (2014): 222-225
- 77 Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in transition*, 222-225; Rolf Kjellström, *Samernas liv*, (Stockholm: Carlsson, [2000] 2003): 189-213.
- 78 Steen, *Samenes kristning*, 407-408; Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in transition*, 222-225; Kjellström, *Samernas liv*, 189-213.
- 79 Krekling, *Jens Kildals Afguderiets dempelse*; Reuterskiöld, *Källskrifter*, 53-60, 61-63.
- 80 *Copenhagen was the center of the power of the king and royal administration of the union of the kingdoms of Denmark-Norway during the period from 1380 to 1814*.
- 81 Christoffersson (2010): 5.
- 82 Krekling, *Jens Kildals Afguderiets dempelse*, 124-128; see also Mebius, *Värrö*, 23-24.
- 83 Kjellström and Rydving (1988): 4; Hansen and Olsen, *Hunters in transition*, 222-225.
- 84 Mebius (2000): 41, (2003): 17.
- 85 Mebius (2000): 41, (2003): 17.
- 86 Krekling, *Jens Kildals Afguderiets dempelse*, 123 [author's translation].
- 87 Christofferson, *Med tre röster och tusende bilder*, 2-5.
- 88 Hansen and Olsen. *Hunters in transition*, 332.
- 89 Christoffersson, *Med tre röster och tusende bilder*; *Found in Skånland 1999*, radiocarbon dated to 1690-1730/1810-1920 AD (1 sigma), 1690-1770/1800-1940 AD (2 sigma), Reimer et al (2004), *OxCal v3.10 Bronk Ramsey (2005) (Beta-454998)*; Andreas J. Kirchhefer, «Treslagsbestemmelse av ei tromme fra Gratangen, Troms fylke.» *Report 30*, (2016).
- 90 *Bealjehis Jovdna, also known as Johan Øreløs*; "without his ear," meaning he was a deaf person; cf. Hansen, *Astafjord bygdebok. Historie 2*. 362-368.
- 91 Hansen, *Astafjord bygdebok. Historie 2*. 362-368.
- 92 Lars Ivar Hansen, «Hvalrekst i Kaldfjorden på 1780-tallet,» in Leif Arne Arneberg et. al. *Under Blåmannen – Bygdehistorie fra Kaldfjorderråde (Tromsø: Kaldfjord & Eidkjosen Bydelseråd, 2008)*: 116-121.
- 93 Just Qvigstad and G. Sandberg, "Lappische Sprachproben." *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja 3*, (1888), referred in Hansen. *Astafjord bygdebok. Historie 2*. 366 [Author's translation].
- 94 Oral information given to the author; Ørnulv Vorren, «Gudebilder i Tromsø Museum» *Ottar Populærvitenskapelig tidsskrift fra Tromsø Museum. No. 21*, (1959): 19-22.
- 95 *Found in Skånland in the 1930s, radiocarbon dated to: TsA [Ts.B.] 1650-1680/1760-1810/1930-1960 AD (1 sigma), 1640-1690/1720-1810/1920-1960 AD (2 sigma) Reimer et al (2004), OxCal v3.10 Bronk Ramsey (2005) (Beta-454995); Ts.B[A] and C, 1520-1560/1630-1670 AD (1 sigma), 1510-1600/1610-1670/1780-1800 (2 sigma), Reimer et al (2004), OxCal v3.10 Bronk Ramsey (2005) (Beta-454996, Beta-454997)*.
- 96 *I en hule, 2-3 mil fra sjøen i Trampdal i Astafjord, Ibestad, Troms, er funnet to og rester av et tredje skulptert gudebilde av tre, åpenbart samiske, cf. Gutorm Gjessing, «To hamrer til samiske runeбомmer» Studia septentrionalia II, (1945): 101-102, [Author's translation]*.
- 97 Jens Andreas Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, (Kristiania: Cammermeyer, 1871): 140.
- 98 Gjessing, *To hamrer*, 101-102.
- 99 Gjessing, *To hamrer*, 99-105; see also Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi*, 140.
- 100 Just Qvigstad, «De lappiske stedsnavn i Troms fylke» *Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning*, (1935); Just Qvigstad, «De lappiske stedsnavn i Finnmark og Nordland fylker» *Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning*, (1938); *basse (North Sámi) meaning sacred*.
- 101 Qvigstad, *Lappische offersteine und heilige Berge*; Ørnulv Vorren, «Sacrificial site, types and function.» *Tore Ahlbæck, ed. Saami religion (Stockholm: 1987)*, 94-109; Vorren and Eriksen, *Samiske offerplasser*.